

TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

LETTER XIV.

*Battle at Grenoble.—State of France.—Causes of a new Revolution.—Consequences to the English System.—Land-
ing of the English Ambassador in America.—Complaint of the officers of the
Niger.—Sir Francis Burdett.*

Botley, 25th May, 1816.

You will have heard, long before this reaches you, of the battle, which has recently taken place at Grenoble in France; but, you will not have heard any true account of the impression, which that event has made in England, where, as I have repeatedly shown, exists the * * * * *. The alarm is felt in all the cabinets of Europe; but, here; here it is, amongst the * * * * * that the greatest alarm is experienced.

It appears, that the "attack" on Grenoble was not so much an attack on that place, as it was a general commotion, or rising in the whole district, of which Grenoble forms a part. Six hundred men are not killed in battle without some fighting. It appears, that an extensive district was in a state of insurrection, and that it still is so. Such documents as the following show very clearly what is the situation of that part of France; and they merit being recorded even in a work where there is so little room to spare; for they are of the very essence of political history.

"On the 7th the Prefect published an Arreté to the following effect:—

"Considering that justice and public example require that all those who participated in the sedition with force and arms, which broke out on the night of the 4th of May, should be inexorably pursued and delivered to the Prevotal Court;

"That general security requires they

"should be deprived of every means of refuge and defence; and consequently that, as a measure of high police, a general disarming ought to take place;

"Therefore all those who within 24 hours from the publication of the present arreté shall not have delivered up to the Mayors of their respective Communes all weapons of war and cartouches which may be in any manner at their disposal, shall be considered as accomplices in the sedition, and criminally prosecuted as such; as shall likewise all those who, knowing of any depot of arms or cartouches, do not give information thereof.

"Every inhabitant is required to make a declaration of the hunting arms in his possession.

"All persons convicted of giving an asylum to rebels shall be regarded as accomplices, and criminally prosecuted as such.

"A recompence of from 100 to 3,000 francs is promised to all those who shall deliver up the authors, leaders, or abettors of the sedition.

"Guilot, an ancient Officer of Artillery, who directed the insurrection of that Commune, and who, once saved from capital punishment by the goodness of the Duke of Angouleme, has covered himself with the double infamy of ingratitude and treason, is denounced to the public vengeance. He who shall arrest him is to receive five hundred francs."

PROCLAMATION OF THE LIEUTENANT-GENERAL COMMANDING THE 7TH MILITARY DIVISION, AND OF THE PREFECT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ISERE.

"The Lieutenant-General commanding the 7th Military Division, and the Prefect of the Isere, make known to the inhabitants of that department that a telegraphic dispatch brings them the following instructions:—(6th May, 6 p.m.)

"The Department of the Isere is to be considered as in a state of siege. The Civil and Military Authorities have a discretionary power.

"The King is satisfied with the Magistrates and the Military. Troops are in motion on different points to occupy the department of the Isere, and ensure the just punishment of the rebels.

"These instructions, which suspend the ordinary course of the laws, must reassure all peaceable citizens who know that their Military and Civil Authorities are constantly watching for the maintenance of order and the good of the service of the King. Let bad citizens tremble. For the rebels, the sword of the law is about to strike them.

"The Prefect Count MONTLIVAUT.

"Lieutenant-General DONADIEU.

"May 8."

ORDER OF THE DAY.

"GRENOBLE, MAY 8.

"The Lieutenant-General, considering that notwithstanding all the searches and all the orders of police hitherto given for discovering and apprehending the *Sieur Didier*, senior, the principal author of the revolutionary movement which took place at Lyons in the course of the month of January last, he has not only escaped the pursuit directed against him, but found places of refuge in this department; in consequence of which he was enabled to become the principal agent of the open rebellion, with force and arms, which broke out in the night of the 4th, hereby decrees, as a measure of extraordinary security:—

"Art. 1. The inhabitants of the house in which the said *Sieur Didier* shall be found, shall be delivered up to the Military Commission to be shot.

"2. Whoever shall deliver up the said *Sieur Didier*, dead or alive, shall receive, as a gratuity, the sum of 3000 francs.

"3. The Military Commanders and all the chiefs of the armed force, are charged with the execution of the present order.

"Description of *Didier*, senior.—Aged 64; height, five feet five; hair almost white, eye-brows black, beard black and grey, large forehead, aquiline nose, mouth middle size, walks negligently, and stoops a little."

In spite of all this, who would not rather be in the place of the "*Sieur Didier*" than in that of Louis "the Desiré?" These documents speak volumes. It is impossible

not to see, that the half of the population of France must be exterminated, in order to establish the reign of the Bourbons. Louis may *proclaim* as long as he pleases. He only proclaims the hatred of Frenchmen against his family and against their allies. His proclamations will be answered by execrations; and the knighthoods which he bestows on his adherents will be regarded by the People at large as badges of infamy.

This affair opens pretty clearly the prospect before us. The hireling newspapers now begin to say, that, though we have peace with "the amiable Monarch of France," we have not peace with the people of that country. This they now openly acknowledge; and, they do so because they are compelled to do it, in order to justify measures like those of the *Standing army* and the *Alien Act*. At first, Oh! what a happy peace! How glorious! How secure and lasting! What safety; what permanent safety, had we obtained! And, was it not worth a twenty-two years' war and a debt of a thousand millions, to obtain such a peace? But, now, behold, we have no peace with the people of France, who are again called "bloody Jacobins," and accused of sighing for the regime of 1793. So that, none of our *expences* are removed. They are now *greater* than they were in 1806 or 1807. And they must *continue* greater for ever, unless the interest of the Debt be in part *lopped off*. In 1807, that interest was about 30 millions. It is now 44 millions. Yet, we have not *finished the war*. The Ministers themselves have declared, that we are in an *intermediate state*, between war and peace. Before that state changes into a state of peace, are not the chances, that the French nation will again be roused? Are not the chances in favour of a rupture of some sort on the continent? At any rate, is there the smallest room to expect, that we shall see any diminution of expence? And, if we do not see any diminution of expence, what a prospect have the fundholders before them?

But, let us trail along in this state of misery for four or five years, then let the French people rise, and what are we to do? Can we add *another thousand millions to our debt*? No: we must leave the French people to settle their own affairs in their own way, and suffer their

example to spread in all directions. Here, then, is the old ground of alarm to our system again staring it in the face, and with ten-fold terrors. In this case, I should not be at all surprised to see Napoleon * * * * *. This is not *my* opinion only. It is the opinion of many others, and those, too, persons of great political judgment. It is very certain, that, previously to the first fall of Napoleon; that is to say, about 1811, a scheme was on foot to * * * * *. And, indeed, this would have been a grand resort! But it would have failed in the end; and so will any scheme which shall not include the secure existence and prosperity of the paper-money mammoth, on which every thing, not only in England, but in all Europe, depends, as far as regards the cause of freedom.

Thus, then, the struggle is *not over*, say the Cossacks what they will to the contrary. Their *processions* at Boston were *premature*, and so were their *thanksgivings*. They may yet, before they die, have the pleasure of *embracing* some of those "legitimate" gentry, of whom they seem so fond, and with whom the people of Europe, and especially those of France, seem extremely willing to part. Be the contrary the result. What then? Why, at the very least, unrelaxed taxation in England, and the regular progress of our funding system towards that point at which it must stop. For, you will observe, and always keep in view, that it is not on the *faith* of fund-holders, or any body else, that the thing depends. It is upon the effects, which the system goes on producing upon the people. Do you think, for instance, that it can go on, until *one half* of the whole population are paupers? It cannot be. Something very material, from some immediate cause or other, *must* take place, in the way of *change* before a people can be brought to such a pass. Incessant fluctuations in all sorts of property and affairs will, of themselves, change the very character of the people as dealers and proprietors; and will cut up the resources of the country by the roots. The immense emigration now going on, and which will increase, will produce, in a few years, a sensible effect. During the debates upon the Alien Bulwark Act, a Member observed, that he wished for some act to prevent

emigration also. This clearly shews, that the evil is one of great magnitude.

But, the facts to keep in view are, that the struggle is *not over*; that we are now paying as much as we paid during the war, up to 1807; and that, unless a reduction take place in the interest of the debt, we must pay as much *for ever*. These are the facts to be always kept in view, and will always furnish a complete answer to all the Cossacks upon the face of the earth. In the meanwhile the good part of the population is fast making its way to America, there to add to the *mind* and to the physical powers of freedom. Five or six years of a state like this in Europe will add a *million of men* to your population from the source of emigration; while, on this side of the Atlantic, no renovation, no additional strength, no revival of spirit, will take place; but, in every quarter, regular and speedy decline. Keep you *united*. Guard well against aristocracy in every shape; and the cause of freedom will eventually triumph; and that, too, at no very distant day. We often rejoice at what we ought to lament; and often lament at what ought to be a subject of joy. If Napoleon had remained in power, there might have been better ground for the processions and thanksgivings of the malignant Cossacks of New England. If he had been firmly seated in his empire of the West, he might have handed it down, twenty or thirty years hence, to his son, a branch of the *House of Austria*. In the meanwhile he had given *proofs* of his desire to make common cause with *all* the enemies of free government. His great talents; his greater renown; the admiration which his deeds in arms naturally excited, and especially in a people like the French; the gratitude which the French thought they owed him for the fame he had acquired for their country; nay, even his wise and merciful code of laws; all might, and, indeed, *must*, have worked *against* the cause of freedom, if he had remained, as he would, the enemy of that cause. He was become the supporter and creator of Royal Dynasties. He would have been *master* of all the rest; but that would not have mended the matter. He would have *supported* all the rest. He would never have taken part with any people. He uttered, towards the close of his reign, as many and as bitter philippics against Jacobins as Pitt or Dundas ever uttered. In

order, in short, to be what he aimed at, and what he really was, it was absolutely necessary, that all Europe should consist of a set of small despotisms, dependant on him. If, therefore, his power had once been consolidated by the adoption of a scheme, such as I have mentioned above, the cause of freedom, in Europe, at least, must have perished, if he had lived for twenty or thirty years.

By his fall a *chance* has been afforded of seeing better days. New scenes of pillage and persecution and blood without doubt; but, now, at any rate, despotism will not be decorated in the attire of *valour* and *science*. It will appear, as it ought, in its native garb. The pillaging of the galleries and museums and breaking up of the National Schools and Institute, though the acts, in themselves, are what I have before described them to be, will produce great good. They were, without being intended to be such, acts of justice towards the Armies and the Republican Assemblies of France. The *Bourbons* had no right to retain what was won by the valour and the wisdom of those whom they accompanied foreign armies to overthrow. They had no right to possess the *Column of Austerlitz*, or the *Bridge of Jena*. There they are, as they ought to be, with nothing but their guards and their priests as embellishments. They can never do a millionth part of the mischief, that Napoleon, settled down a despot would have done. Under him despotism would have bound men with gilded chains. Now, she comes with bare iron to manacle them. The charm is taken away.

"Well," say the Cossacks, "but, after all, this despotism is the *natural end of revolution*." Oh, no! For, this was not the case in *America*; and, I should be put in jail for many years, if I were to say, that it was the case in *England*. On the contrary, we call ours a "*glorious revolution*;" and, if it be a *glorious deed* to pack off a king and his family in England, and to make it *treason* to adhere to him, why may it not be *glorious* in any other country? But, this is not the point. The point is, whether any *other* revolution ought to be attempted, seeing that the French revolution has ended in the restoration of the old despotism; or, as your Cossacks have it, in the return of the "*legitimate sovereign*." Why, yes, to be sure; or, at least, *this is no reason why*

another revolution ought not to be attempted. Was it ever yet held as a maxim, that, merely because a man has failed in any undertaking, he ought never to undertake the same thing again? What would become of soldiers or of lovers if this maxim were adopted? What of farmers, gardeners, or planters? What! is no *new trial* to be granted in court of nations? Is no writ of error to be demanded in favour of *a people*? What! because our ships of war failed most lamentably in their battles with yours, during the last war, is big John Bull never to try his luck again, except on the Serpentine River? I would ask that celebrated essayist, Captain Henry, whether he thinks, that his failure ought to discourage any other adventurer in the same line?

Well, then, if, in none of these instances, failure ought to put an end to future efforts, why in the particular instance of political revolutions? Why should not the French, or any other people, try their hand at a revolution, if they are convinced they have a base and wicked crew to govern them? Besides, there is *experience* now to guide the French, if the idea should take them. They have now seen the *cause* of their failure; and, of course, are less likely to fail again. They have now seen the difference in the effects of their schemes and that of the United States. They have seen what that government has been able to do in war. With all this experience, they would not easily fall into their former errors. The people, too, have had a republican education; or, at least, something approaching towards it. Then, again, that condition of the great enemy of their revolution is very much changed. John Bull would, I dare say, be as ready as ever to pour out upon them; but John Bull would not have the same means as before. A nation does not a *second time* contract a thousand millions of debt.

It is nonsense, therefore, to say, that the French will never attempt another revolution. The end of the last has not been a *natural* end. It has been an *unnatural* end. If, indeed, the French had been left to themselves; if nobody had interfered with them; if so many nations had not made war upon them; if Brunswick and his Germans had not invaded them with threats of fire and sword. Then, indeed, the atrocities of the French

revolution (though falling infinitely short of the atrocities of the Bourbons, committed on the Protestants of France at various times) would have been fairly ascribed to the revolution; but, as it was, the whole progress of the revolution presented nothing but war external and internal, until the despotism of Napoleon came and produced internal peace.

One thing is certain; and that is, that Europe cannot long remain as it now is. This government, which is the pivot of the whole, is in such a state as to render a change, a material change, of some sort, absolutely necessary. And, whenever any such change shall take place, the effects of it will be felt from Cadiz to St. Petersburg.

JOHN BULL'S AMBASSADOR TO AMERICA was, it would appear, disappointed at the reception he met with on his landing in your country. My authority is the following paragraph, published in our newspapers.

"The Narcissus, Capt. G. A. Crofton, arrived at Portsmouth, on Thursday, from Halifax and Bermuda. The Niger, Capt. Jackson, had arrived at Halifax, having landed the Hon. Mr. Bagot, Ambassador to America, at Annapolis. Mr. Bagot had *no reason to feel flattered with the reception he experienced*; it appeared to the officers of the Niger, that the Americans were apprehensive, should they even suffer their natural curiosity to be gratified at the moment, it might give a *degree of eclat to the arrival of the English Ambassador*; they therefore *shut themselves up in their houses*. They could not *fire a salute*, as their guns upon the fort were out of order.— *Eight of the Niger's men deserted from the boat, and no authoritative aid could be obtained to discover their retreat.* The Niger, so soon as she had landed all the Ambassador's suite, proceeded to Halifax, and was there preparing to receive on board Gen. Sir John Sherbrooke, for Quebec, he having been appointed Governor of Upper Canada. The Narcissus was 18 days from Bermuda. She has sailed for the River to be paid off."

What *fluttering* did Mr. Bagot want, I wonder? Did he expect you to run out and prostrate yourselves before him, and lick his hand, or his shoes? What! these "*officers of the Niger*" expected,

I suppose, that the people of Annapolis were to range themselves in two lines with bare heads for the Hon. Mr. Bagot to walk through? He ought, I suppose, as they thought, to have his way strewn with flowers to the City of Washington, that grand scene of the exploits of Ross and Cockburn? "*Eclat*" indeed! what *eclat* should the people of Annapolis make upon such an occasion? What cared they for the Hon. Mr. Bagot any more than for another man? And what should they care? I do not believe, however, that they "*shut themselves up in their houses*" to avoid him. They are not such fools. But, it is one of the follies of John Bull's gentlemen, that, wherever they go, they are surprised, if all the world do not run gaping after them and pulling hats off to them. The people of America care nothing about "*great people*." If the "*officers of the Niger*" had wanted a shouting mob at the heels of Mr. Bagot, they should have taken out a detachment of the bullet-proof-coach rabble, and such of those who followed "*Old Blucher*" about. But, in order to have effected their purpose in a handsome manner, they should have carried out a dozen ton of strong beer as well as the rabble. Then Mr. Bagot would have been most *cordially* welcomed. "*Fire a salute*" indeed! What should an American fort fire a salute for upon such an occasion? What subject of *joy* was it to America, that an English public envoy had arrived? The *silliness* of all this surpasses even its conceit and impudence. Was it because Mr. Bagot was the son of a *Lord* that all this piece of work; all this *eclat*, was to take place? Just as if the Americans had not seen Lords and Knights and Honourables before! Just as if they had not seen Sir George Prevost, Sir James Yeo, Sir Alexander and Sir John Cochrane, Sir E. Packenham, and the ever-memorable Sir George Cockburn, to say nothing of Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Lord Cornwallis? SMYTH tells a story of the capture of LORD PERCY, now Duke of Northumberland, at, or just after, the battle of Lexington. The Yankee Soldiers had put his Lordship in prison in a room of what we call a public house, and what you call a tavern, in some country place. The people of the neighbourhood, who knew nothing of *Lords* except by hearsay,

crowded to the tavern to see the Noble Personage; when a young girl, who was looking through the window at him, exclaimed: "what! *is that a lord, you?*" "Come away Jemima!" The people of Annapolis have, I dare say, something else to do than to stare at Lords, or Lords' sons, or at any such people. I'll engage, that there were very few of them who knew who Mr. Bagot was, and not one who would have shut himself up in his house for the sake of either avoiding him or for any other purpose connected with his arrival. But, pray, when did the people *here* give any *eclat* to the arrival of an Ambassador? And especially of an American Ambassador? When did we *fire salutes* upon such an occasion? Oh! we are big John Bull! Verily this insolence is a little ill-timed as to America. It may do with regard to the poor, crawling, lousy wretches in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and the other countries that are under the dread of England; but, it will not do with regard to America, except, indeed, as far as relates to the Cossacks of New England, who, perhaps, might have been willing to crawl upon their bellies to give *eclat* to the arrival of a Lord's son.

The best way, upon such occasions, is for the Blue and Buff to hold their tongues. They cannot complain with any effect. They can obtain no *redress*; for, I can assure them, that John Bull, conceited as he is, is not prepared to add five hundred millions to his debt and twenty millions a year to his taxes in order to avenge this pretended slight to the Honourable Mr. Bagot. John will have to pay the amount of Mr. Bagot's salary and the expences of his mission, together, most probably with a couple of thousands a year to that gentleman for life; and that is quite enough for John without a new war on account of the taciturnity of the people of Annapolis. No, no! "the officers of the Niger" will not succeed in stirring up strife between the two countries upon this account. The history of the events of the last war is still before us.

But, they must *talk*; they must send forth paragraphs; they must let their anger have vent. What in all the world but an unconquerable propensity to do this could have induced them to publish to the world, that "*Eight of the Niger's men deserted from the boat*" which

landed the Ambassador? This must have been nearly the whole of the boat's crew. Now, what could be the *cause* of this? These were not *pressed* men; for the ship was manned with people *enlisted since the peace*. It is well known, indeed, that she lay a good while waiting for men. We never hear of any American seamen deserting. At any rate, why was this fact told to the world? Were the men *bad men*? If they were, it is well known, that the *best* of a crew are generally selected for such services; and what, then, were the *rest* of the ship's company? And, could no better men be enlisted? If they were *good* men, what could make them leave their boat? Was the *temptation so strong*? If so, *what was* that temptation? What a country must that be, where such powerful temptations to remain exist? These eight men, it seems, were not discouraged by the cold reception of the Ambassador. They clearly expected a different sort of reception. When our seamen land in Spain and Portugal, or any other of the Social-Order countries, we never hear of their running away. The land of America seems to be spread over with bird-lime; or, else, the people must have love-powder to give to our fellows.

Be the cause what it may, however, the best way would be, in all such cases, to hold our tongues; for, the *complaint*, which the statement of this fact was intended to introduce, was, that "no *authoritative aid* could be obtained to *discover their retreat*." This is the *jet* of the narrative. This was the object principally in view. As if the *government*, or *nation*, of America had, in this case, committed an unjustifiable act against *us*; against *England*. In the first place, what should the people of Annapolis want these men to desert for? What good could their desertion do any of the people of Annapolis, or any other of the people of America? Why should any Governor, Justice of the Peace, or any body else wish them to desert? And, in the next place, how should any of the people have any thing to do in the inducing of them to desert, or in the *secret-ing* of them, seeing that "*all the people had shut themselves up in their houses*?" No "*authoritative aid* could be obtained" certainly, because no justice of the peace could grant a warrant for any such pur-

pose. The moment the sailor was landed, *the law protected him*, I presume, and I am sure it did, unless *breach of contract* could be urged in this case; and then, the affair would require legal investigation. How was any magistrate to issue his warrant for *discovering the retreat* of these men? For, I would have the English nation bear in mind, that an *American's* house is *really* his castle, and is not to be stormed with impunity. Suppose one of "the Officers of the Niger" had forced his way into a house in search of any of his men, and had been shot by the owner or his servant, or by the sailor by the owner's command. Do "the Officers of the Niger" think that this would have been *murder*? I can assure them that it would not. And, as to searching *with a warrant*, upon *what ground* was the warrant to be granted? What was the oath to express? It could not alledge, that the man to be searched for had committed any crime against the laws of America; and yet, without such allegation, I am very sure, that no search warrant could be legally granted by a justice of the peace in America. What do these officers mean, then, by their *complaint*? There was no *legal* authority to assist them. Did they want to suspend the settled laws of America? The sailors who had deserted had as good a claim to be protected by the law as the Ambassador himself had. Not that they *did right* in deserting; for they had voluntarily entered; but, the laws of America were not to be suspended for the sake of their being taken back to their duty. A justice of the peace, in England, has no *legal* authority to issue a warrant to search for an American deserter, if such a man should ever exist in England. Why, then, should we think of claiming such interposition in America? Are the laws of all countries to give way at *our* nod? In short, it is *impudence* and *ignorance* that suggest the publication of articles like this. You will, I am sure, stick to your laws.

Of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT I have spoken to you before; but, I have by no means done justice to his efforts in the public cause. You know what the *Honourable House* is very well. I have given you a description of that; and, a very true and very pretty description it

is. Very well, then, only figure to yourselves such a man as SIR FRANCIS BURDETT * * * * *

WM. COBBETT.

THE AMERICAN PACKET.

No. III.

MY DEAR JOHN BULL,

In the first Number I gave you an outline of the Political Parties in America. I said, that the Aristocrats, who have been the friends of *our* government, were called *Federalists*, and, that the staunch friends of freedom were called *Republicans*. But, you will observe, that it is, in fact, only a *small portion* of the Federalists who are really of the Aristocratic clan, and who really are friends of the English government. Both parties are, in reality, republicans to the back-bone. They love their country and their government. The contest between the two parties is a contest for power; and such a contest, so long as there is nothing base and sordid in it; so long as it has not *plunder*, so long as it has not *public robbery*, in view, has nothing hurtful about it. But, amongst the *Federalists*, there have grown up some men, who appear to have abandoned every good political principle. Such are the men, of which the *Hertford Convention* was composed. These persons have, as far as they have been able, allied themselves with all the enemies of freedom in Europe. Their hostility has not been against this or that measure of their government; but against the principles of the government. One of the priests in New England openly declared in a sermon, that the *English Monarchy* was preferable to the government of America. These men set on foot *processions* and *thanksgivings*, when the news arrived of the entrance of the *Cossacks* into Paris and of the restoration of the Bourbons. Hence they have been called the *Cossacks*, which is the name that I shall always make use of, when I am speaking of the Aristocratic faction in America; for, it would be most unjust to confound such men as Mr. RUFUS KING, for instance, with such men as Mr. OTIS, or Mr. GOODLOE HARPER.

To such a length did the Cossacks

carry their passion for *Royal Government*, that, upon the occasion just alluded to, a priest, or parson, at Boston, of the name of CHANNING, put up the following thanksgiving:

“ ‘Most holy, most merciful God,’ exclaims the priest, ‘thine was the work; thine be the glory! The sceptre of France is now wielded again by a benignant sovereign, who will heal her wounds.’

“ ‘Europe then is free! Most transporting deliverance!’

“ ‘Europe now flies for shelter and peace to the *pure* and *mild* principles of christianity.’

“ ‘The old and revered institutions of Europe are restored.’

“ ‘Thrones and governments which had endured for ages, were overturned,’ but they are now re-established.”

Do not your fingers itch, reader, to sieze the Reverend hypocrite and tumble him head-long from his pulpit? What a scandal to the town of BOSTON (formerly the seat of the elect of free-men) that such an impious farce should have been acted in its precincts! The joy of the Cossacks was proportioned to the sorrow of the rest of the Americans, who, though they were as far as the friends of freedom in England were from approving of many of the deeds of Napoleon, saw, in his fall, the restoration of all the old despotisms and persecutions in Europe, and who, therefore, deeply lamented that fall. As these enlightened friends of freedom apprehended, so it turned out; and we had very soon to record the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Inquisition. These instruments of “the *mild* and *pure* principles of Christianity” having returned into power and operation, the blood of Protestants began to flow. The consequences of the fall of Napoleon; the terrible acts which have been committed against civil and religious liberty, have, as it was natural to expect they would, produced a great sensation in America; and, as was also natural, has made the Cossack faction hang their heads.

This faction are now reminded of their rejoicings and their thanksgivings at the restoration of the Bourbons. The people of America have their eye upon all that passes here. They have well ob-

served the conduct of our government and our clergy as to the massacres of the Protestants in France, and as to the treatment of the Patriots in Spain. They will soon learn, that the French government is at work to restore what was called *the property of the Church*; that the Convents and Churches, which had been purchased by Protestants, and applied to the purposes of Protestant worship, have been taken from them, and that they are, as in the former times of the Bourbons, compelled to worship God in holes and corners. They will also learn, that all Protestant School-masters are put out of employ, and that Catholics supply their place. They will learn, in short, that, while an English and Cossack and Prussian and Austrian army are keeping the Bourbons on the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples and the Pope in his Chair, the persecution of Protestants, in all those countries, and every species of religious intolerance, is going on.

These facts will all be well known in America, where the fall of Napoleon will be, every day, more and more lamented, and, of course, where the Cossacks, who put up thanksgiving for that fall will be more and more despised. It will never do for them to say, that they did not *wish* for the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits and the Inquisition, and that they *lament* the murder and degradation of the Protestants of France. They *did wish* for all these, they *must* have wished for all these, because they did wish for the restoration of the *Bourbons*, under whom all these had formerly existed. But the Cossacks will, perhaps, say, that they *hoped*, that the Bourbons would become the patrons of civil and religious liberty. What *reason* had they to hope this? They *regretted* the fall of the Bourbons; and did they not, in that regret, express their approbation of the *former* government of those Bourbons? They thanked God for the restoration of the Bourbons without any *qualification*. They thanked God, as we see in parson Channing's impious trash, that the sceptre of France was “now wielded *again* by a *benignant* sovereign, who would *heal her wounds*.” Yes! Her *wounds* have, indeed been *healed*, if murder and robbery be the means of healing.

Therefore, there is no apology for the

conduct of these Cossacks, and their affected *lamentation* at the sufferings of the French Protestants must, if possible, expose them to additional contempt. The Americans will learn that the City of London have just presented two addresses to the Prince Regent, the object of the first being to congratulate him on the **SUCCESSFUL termination of the war**, and that of the second being to beg of him *to interfere in behalf of the persecuted Protestants of France*. To this latter "His Royal Highness was pleased to return the following most *gracious answer*."—"The just sense entertained by his Majesty's subjects, of the value and importance of religious toleration, is necessarily calculated to excite in their minds strong feelings of uneasiness and regret, at any appearance of the want of it in other nations of the world.—In such feelings, *when called for and justified by the occasion*, I shall ever participate, and whilst I lament the circumstances which led to your Address, I derive great satisfaction from the persuasion, that they are *in no degree to be attributed to an indisposition on the part of the Government of France, to afford to the freedom of religious worship, the benefit of its promised protection and support*." And then the Citizens kissed his hand (A), and Mr. BELL, one of the Sheriffs, was knighted. It was a "most gracious answer," we are told; but, the Prince as good as told the Citizens, that he thought that the occasion did not call for, no, nor justify, a participation in their feelings, while he hinted at their having been guilty of *injustice* in supposing, that the Desired Louis, his brother Knight of the Holy Ghost, was at all to blame for what had happened. This, considering the circumstances, was a very gentle *rap upon the knuckles*; for, if I had been in the Prince's place, I should have said something in this way: "Oh! So you congratulate me, do you, on my having, by the means of the money and blood of the country, put down Napoleon and restored the Bourbons; and, in the same breath, you beseech me to interfere with those Bourbons in order to prevent the natural consequences of the restoration! Your loyalty and your affection for my Royal Father's person and family become you well."

"It is your duty to honour and obey us, and all that are put in authority under us. Go home, loving subjects; labour in the several states of life, to which it has pleased God to call you; continue to be loyal and obedient; pay your taxes cheerfully; but, keep your advice to yourselves." They might have kissed my hand, if they chose, but this is what I would have said to them.

It is not only foolish, but, unjust, to find fault of what is going on in France, unless, at the same time, we disapprove of the war and of its object. Those who approved of the war; those who applauded that which they call its "*glorious result*;" those who approve of the treatment of Napoleon; those who huzzed the return of the Bourbons: all those have done their utmost to produce what is now going on in France; and, if they affect to lament over the murder of the Protestants, and the horrors now committing in Spain, France, and Italy, they are hypocrites, or, they are extremely foolish people. This latter character does not belong to the Cossacks of America, and, therefore, the former must.

These transactions, in Europe, as I have before observed, appear to have drawn away from the Cossack faction almost every man of honest intentions. What remains of the faction may be considered as implacable enemies of free government. Indeed, the Members of the *Hertford Convention*, that selection of Cossacks, appear to have fallen into a state of utter contempt even in New England. Mr. H. G. OTIS, who was a sort of leader of the Cossacks, and who has been, for a great many years, aspiring to be elected GOVERNOR of Massachusetts, has, upon the approach of an election for that office, *slunk away*, and (being a lawyer,) taken refuge *on the Bench*. He is safe there, perhaps, from being *displaced*, and compelled to *earn his bread*; but, though Mr. OTIS, the Judge, may be safe, Mr. OTIS of the *Hertford Convention* will, as long as he has breath, be the subject of censure, contempt, and ridicule. His friend, GOVERNOR STRONG (of Massachusetts) has *declined* offering himself again. These are sure and certain proofs of the discredit, into which the Cossacks have been thrown by their own wicked designs. Mr. DEXTER, whom I

remember as a very able lawyer, and who was a stout *Federalist*, is now the person proposed, *by the Republicans*, in the State of Massachusetts, to supply the place of Governor Strong. This is, with me, proof enough, that the character of the Federal Party is wholly changed; and, that, nearly all who remain attached to it are Cossacks. I told the Ministers, during the war, that the Cossack faction had *not* the support of the *people* of Massachusetts to the extent that it appeared to be supposed here. This truth is now evident; for all the eulogists of "the Bulwark" are falling into disgrace.

In the meanwhile, the Cossacks are becoming, in New England, more *religious* than ever. They are, as a correspondent observes, "*Offering up to God the Devil's Leavings.*" It is the piety of the malefactor, just as the kind cord is about "to convey him to the Bosom of his Saviour," as the man, or, rather, the monster, said, who had committed the deliberate and unprovoked murder on his indulgent Master and Mistress, Mr. Bonar and his wife. But, this pious fit of GOVERNOR STRONG and his associates comes rather late. It comes after their thanksgivings for the restoration of the Old despotisms and persecutions in Europe; and, if religion, of *their sort*, improve them, all that I can say is, that it will be the first time that mankind ever beheld a similar effect produced by such a cause. The religious fit, however, has arisen from the circumstance of a great, and rather sudden, increase of the *Unitarians* in Massachusetts. This is by no means a trifling event in the history of the progress of the human mind. Calvin has had almost exclusive possession of New England, ever since the first settlement. *Priestly* appears to be giving the old burner of *Servetus* a blow, such as he never before received. It will be a curious thing, if, at last, the Devil and his imps and his brimstone should be laughed at in New England, the country above all others in the world, where they were most firmly believed in, except, indeed, those countries that have been buried in brutal superstition, under the sway of despots and monks. To give up the Devil seems a hard thing, after having so long believed in him. My friend, Mr. FORDHAM will remember with what zeal I resented an attack on the old gentleman's

authority, and he will conclude, of course, that I am now on the side of Governor Strong and the Cossacks, seeing that they are for the Devil. But, I beg Mr. Fordham's pardon. Though I certainly did call the Devil as the "*sheet anchor*," I am not bound to stick even to him in such company as the New England Cossacks.

It is supposed, that the New England part of the United States will, in general, choose Republican Governors and Members of Congress, in which case the cause of the Cossacks is completely done for. It is also expected, that Mr. MONROE, or Mr. ADAMS (who is now the American Minister in England), will be chosen *President* for the next four years. The election is held next autumn, and the new President enters on his office in the ensuing Spring. If Mr. MONROE should be elected, *four* Presidents out of the *five*, who will then have been chosen, will have been *Virginians*. WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON and MONROE; Mr. ADAMS having been the only President chosen out of any other state. This has been purely *accidental*. The men who have been successively chosen from the State of Virginia *happened* to be the men of the greatest estimation in the Country. Yet this circumstance has been made a great handle of by the Cossacks, who have endeavoured, and, for a while, not wholly without success, to persuade the people of New England, that *Virginia* was making a *monopoly* of the Office of President. But, what a stupid thing it would be to make a law to *prevent* the same State from giving a President *twice running*, which, however, was actually proposed by the Sages of the *Hertford Convention*! Just as if the people should consent to a law to restrain them in their own choice! The President is the Chief Magistrate of the whole Union, and, of course, the people ought to preserve the right of looking through the whole Union for a man to fill that important office. What! because a fit man was found in a particular spot, last time, is the same spot to be prohibited this time? The Hertford Convention sent round their propositions to the Legislatures of the several States, in order to obtain their concurrence. The *answer* of the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania and of that of the State of New York were admirable, the latter for its spirited tone of indignant rejection, and the former for its close and powerful rea-

soning in language the most dignified and, at the same time, the most cutting. With the exception of the poems of Pope, I never read any thing, of which I should so much like to have been the author, as this answer of the State of Pennsylvania. Let any man compare this paper, penned in one of the State Legislatures of America; and, when he has compared it with the State Papers of our Ambassadors and Ministers, let him say whether Aristocracy has reserved to itself a monopoly of talent. I cannot help thinking how the Cossacks of the Hertford Convention must have *hung their heads*, while the answer of Pennsylvania was reading to them. A sword, run into the tenderest part of the body, would have been less painful to men of any sense of honour.

MR. MONROE and MR. ADAMS (the Minister in England,) who is the son of Mr. ADAMS the former President, are both firm friends of truly Republican Principles. It is of little consequence to the cause of freedom which of the two is elected; and, it is of little importance, perhaps, to themselves. For, as to *pecuniary gain*, there can be none; and, as to power and patronage, they are worth the possession of neither in any other light than as the means of doing good to their country. What a fine thing is it to see two men, Mr. ADAMS and Mr. JEFFERSON, now living in common life, after having been the Chief Magistrates of a country, which has a population and a trade nearly equal to those of England! Before they were Presidents, the former lived on his estate in Massachusetts and the latter on his estate in Virginia. To those estates, unaugmented, they have returned to spend the remainder of their lives. Was there ever any thing so honourable to the human mind as this sight? And, can we view it, without feeling indignation unutterable against the hired writers who have the audacity to say, that the order and happiness of society demand the subjection of the many to the will of the few? In about twelve months Mr. MADISON, whom our writers threatened to *depose*; whose deposition they insisted upon as a *sine qua non* of peace with America, will have finished his sacred Presidentship, and will have also retired to private life, after having seen his country restored to honourable peace, at the end of a most arduous struggle for the preservation of its rights and its freedom.

How it relieves one to turn one's eyes towards this scene, after having had them, for a while, fixed on those scenes of human degradation, which surround us in Europe! And how anxious ought we to be, that America may go on, under such a government, to grow in prosperity and in power! Power in such hands can never do harm, and may do infinite service to the whole civilized world. It is of vast importance, that we, *the people* of England, see this matter in its true light. What is there which ought to prevent *us* from living on terms of harmony and friendship with America? There is nothing but the base passions and private interests of the basest and most sordid of mankind. I know, that there is another description of men, very worthy men, who look at America with constant *jealousy*, as a country, that may, one day or other, *rival* England on the sea, at the bare thought of which they sicken. But, is there any sound sense in this? If we are fond of *Naval Glory*, how are we to have it, unless there be some power with a navy equal to our own? Who admires the Kite on account of his being able to keep the Linnets and Goldfinches in awe? The feeling of anxiety about distant danger to the power and fame of England is very laudable, though it be unfounded. But, it is an error which may lead to great evils on ourselves as well as on others. We have really put back the naval power of all Europe for an age. And, what have we got by it but the most shocking misery at home? Besides, there is no ground for the fear. England must *always* be a great nation. She may be reduced very low by her government, but, by one means or another, she will revive. Why, then, should we look with envy and jealousy at the rising power of a country so far from us, and so naturally, for a thousand reasons, prone to do us good instead of harm? The ties of language, of manners, of common ancestry, of similarity of common law and of forms of legal proceedings, of literary intercourse, are alone, without the connections of trade, more than a match for all the advantages, and all the professions and all the acts of friendship that all the other nations in the world can offer to either of the parties, and particularly to America, where there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of men, who hate our government as they hate the rattle-snake, and

who *think* they hate the English nation ; but, who really, if narrowly watched, discover a partiality for every thing English, without at all suspecting it themselves. This must be so, until human nature be changed, and that is a thing not so easily done as to make war, or peace.

However, if, in spite of the dictates of reason and justice, there be still persons in England to wish that America may be kept in a state so defenceless, as to be unable to defend herself against any act of hostility on the part of our government ; if this be still your wish, my dear John Bull, learn, for your punishment, that your wish will not be gratified. That fleet, which a saucy upstart called "half a dozen" "fir frigates with some bits of striped" "bunting at their mast heads" is becoming a fine Navy ; and, the Americans, so far from being divided upon this subject, dispute with each other the honour of having been the founders of this branch of their country's defence. The people of Boston quit their meeting-houses and cover the tops of their hills to see *their own* great ships bearing into their harbour. The scenes of their sea-fights during the last war form the subjects of the pictures that decorate the dwellings of the farmer and even of the labourer. Mr. CURWEN very wisely observed, the other night, that it would be good policy to abandon Canada ; to declare it independent, and leave it to itself. And, really, what can it be kept for, except as the means of kindling war, and of enjoying patronage ? Be this as it may, we may be well assured, that, on the *Lakes*, we never shall again be masters. We have no business there at all ; but, if we insist upon keeping Canada, it must, in case of another war, cost us a couple of hundreds of millions, and, for no earthly reason that I can possibly discover, other than those of war and patronage.

It was fully believed, in England, and by ninety-nine hundreds of the people, that, during the last war, all the battles ended in *our* favour. They did, indeed, hear of a frigate or two being taken by the Americans ; but then, they thought it was by a 74 gun ship that one of our frigates was subdued. They believed, that the Americans were *always* beaten by land ; that they were cowards, who ran away like so many sheep ; that, at New Orleans, in particular, we made mince meat of them ; and, why not be-

lieve this, when they saw, that a monument was voted in honour of Pakenham, who commanded the land part of the expedition against New Orleans ? Besides, it was positively stated, in our new papers, that we did gain the victory ; and, though the contrary, at last, sneaked out in the Official Gazette, it was put on the back-side of the news-papers, as much out of sight as possible. The Americans can hardly believe, that a people like the English can have been kept in such darkness. But, in a series of Numbers, which they have read, I hope, by this time, I have fully explained to them how this deception and hoodwinking is carried on.

But, John Bull, the point, upon which you were the most grossly and most fatally deceived, was the *grounds* of the late war with America. You were made to believe, that the President of America had, underhandedly, *made a league with Napoleon for the purpose of conquering England*. An impudent Attorney, a notoriously wholesale dealer in bribery and corruption, said, one day, in the hearing of several persons, that America, like an assassin, *attacked us in the dark*. (B) False and foolish as this was, it was the prevailing opinion. I will, therefore, John, in the next AMERICAN PACKET, tell you the real truth of this story once more. It is right that you should know it, and that you should be guarded against another quarrel and war ; for, you may be assured, that, if you persist in your hostility against America, you will get more and more disgrace. The Americans do not want to quarrel with us. They wish to live upon friendly terms with us. They know how to discriminate between a *people* and * * * * *. But, if we will insist upon it, that the Americans shall be *kept down*, we shall bring upon ourselves chastisement, even more severe than that which we now feel.

I am, my dear John Bull, your friend,
WM. COBBETT.

DEBATE ON CASH PAYMENTS.

(Continued from page 640.)

Mr. HORNER commenced a very luminous and talented reply, by declaring, that in any thing which he had advanced on this question, he had meant no personal disrespect to the Directors of the Bank, or to their organs in the House. He had

spoken of them merely collectively as a corporation, and considering them in that capacity, he had no hesitation in repeating that he put no confidence in their declarations, when they expressed an anxiety for the resumption of cash payments. He would not take up much of the time of the House, at that late hour, and therefore would forego the tempting opportunity of exposing the inconsistency of the arguments which had been urged in support of Restriction, by the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, (Mr. Huskisson) who though he admitted the sound policy of a speedy resumption of cash payments, seemed by his speech to leave that question in the same state which it had been in for some years past. As to what had been said on the subject by the noble Lord (Castlereagh), he (Mr. H.) expressed his ignorance of the precise tendency. He would therefore, from inability, abstain from following him. The Noble Lord had thrown out such a mass of language and ideas, and had made such a novel combination of twisted expressions, [Hear, hear!] that it was difficult, in the many theories he urged, to understand that one which applied to the resumption of cash payments, or to the manner in which they might be most speedily effected. [Hear, hear, hear!]—It was possible that the Noble Lord had a thread which would guide him through the labyrinth of theory and phraseology into which he had gone, but as that thread was not visible to him (Mr. H.) he would not risk an entrance. [Hear, hear!]

The Honourable and Learned Member then took a view of arguments which had been urged on the other side of the House in favour of restriction, and observed, that if the expediency of the resumption of cash payment at the end of two years, which had been admitted, was put into the Bill—if it were made part of the Bill that the Bank should resume its payments in that time, and that the intermediate period should be spent in making preparatory arrangements for that purpose, he should withdraw his motion, and lend his aid to the forwarding of such arrangements. But he added, that this was not the intention of Ministers, and that by the present Bill they left the time of payment as undefined as it was in 1797. The Bank Directors had once expressed themselves anxious to attend to the directions of the

House; it therefore now became the House, if they sincerely wished for the resumption of cash payments, to give such directions as would most speedily conduce to that object, [Hear, hear!] He had asked of the Gentlemen opposite what were those fortunate circumstances under which cash payments would be more easy than at present? To this question no answer had been given. No one efficient reason had been given why those payments should not now be resumed.—Under those circumstances then he put it to those Members who were present, whether after all they had heard they did not conscientiously believe that an inquiry was necessary. If after what had passed they did not vote for inquiry, they should stand to the consequences. The Honourable and Learned Member concluded his reply, of which we regret that from the lateness of the hour we have only given a faint outline, by stating, that if the Committee on the Bill were pressed that night, he should move some clauses, in consequence of what had fallen from the Noble Lord (Castlereagh).

Mr. HUSKISSON and Mr. HORNER explained. The House then divided, when there appeared,

For the motion, 73; against it, 146.

Majority, 73.

PROTESTANTS IN THE SOUTH OF FRANCE.

(May 23, 1816.)

Sir S. ROMILLY rose, in pursuance of notice, to bring this subject under the consideration of the House. He had waited for some time in the hope that there would have been no occasion for such a motion as that which he was now about to propose to the House; but, considering the impresssion which had been made throughout the whole country, it appeared to him that it would be extremely to be lamented if the session were to pass over without any notice having been taken of the subject. Reports had reached this country of dreadful acts of riot, violence, and oppression in the southern departments of France; they had made a deep impresssion upon the public; public meetings were called, resolutions were formed, subscriptions were opened with that liberality which had always characterized the British nation; and the House would recollect the progress that was making in the public feelings, when a sudden turn took

place, and the face of affairs was changed. Although these meetings had not taken place without a previous communication being had on the subject with his Majesty's Ministers, yet those meetings were discouraged, and he was most sorry to have seen that a very successful turn was given to that meritorious course of proceeding. In a letter written by the Duke of Wellington to one of these meetings, his Grace had said, that he felt satisfied that every thing possible had been done on the part of the French Government to prevent these disturbances; that the King of France had extended his protection to his subjects of all persuasions, and had secured them in the exercise of their religious rights. The effect of that letter was very strong upon the minds of the people. The Common Council of the City of London had considered this subject, and had voted an address to the Prince Regent: much delay occurred in its presentation, and although his Royal Highness had said that it could be received by him on any occasion on his arrival in London, that occasion had never arrived, and the address had never been presented. He was not bringing this question forward to criminate his Majesty's ministers; and he most sincerely assured the House, that he had not such an opinion of them as to believe, that if they had been acquainted with what had really taken place, or had seriously considered what the interposition of the French government amounted to, and had known in what manner it had been demonstrated, they would have acted as they had done. He never could think that it could have been in human nature to have conducted themselves in such a manner, if they had known the real facts of the case. All that he imputed to his Majesty's ministers was, that they had too credulously believed, and too lightly judged upon, all the stories they had received. He could also assure the House, if indeed it were necessary, that in introducing this matter to its consideration he was actuated by no party or personal feelings, but by motives of justice and humanity to an injured and disheartened people; and after having received information from various quarters, after having had the means of conversing with many persons that had been on the spot, he did think it would have been a dereliction of the duty he owed to oppressed and in-

jured individuals, had he not drawn the attention of the House to the subject.—The letter of the Duke of Wellington had been published at Nismes, and was scattered about the town with the greatest joy and exultation by the Catholics; but it filled the Protestants with the utmost consternation: it took from the oppressors the only restraint imposed upon them, and from the oppressed their last hope. So completely were they oppressed, that they were looked upon as mere slaves, under the control, and subject to the passions, of an enraged master — without hope, without comfort, and without relief. In considering, then, this important subject, there were three principal questions to be discussed: 1st, whether any and what punishment had been inflicted on these murderers and assassins; 2dly, whether these offences had been committed against law and nature from political or religious motives; and, 3dly, whether the French government had afforded any protection to the injured. Unless these three questions were considered, it would be impossible to give a distinct idea of the disgraceful transactions which had taken place in the department of the Gard, to which the distressing scenes were almost wholly confined. There could be no doubt that there had been a most unjust persecution of the Protestants in the south of France, and that Nismes was the principal scene of horror and of bloodshed; but in order that the subject might be fully comprehended by the house, it would be necessary for him to put it in possession of the situation in which the Protestants were placed previous to the restoration of his present Majesty Louis XVIII. on the throne of France. The department of the Gard was the first part of France, and, he believed, of Europe, where the doctrines of the reformed religion were promulgated; and it was in the mountains of the Cevennes, that, in the 12th century, heresy, as it was then termed, first took its root, distinguished by the piety of the doctrines of those who professed it. In this situation they remained unmolested to the time of the Reformation; but by the unhappy communication between the leaders of the two parties at the latter end of the reign of Francis I. a dreadful destruction of the Protestants took place at Aix. This was the first appearance of that bitter animosity which afterwards spread devas-

tation throughout the whole of France, and the commencement of those dreadful wars between the Hugonots and Catholics, so disgraceful to human nature. At last religious peace was restored under the reign of Henry IV. when the Protestants enjoyed the most perfect liberty. Nismes was then the city to which the Protestants resorted. So matters rested until the revocation of the edict of Nantes, when those bloody orders were issued, the object of which was to convert the whole province of the Gard by a regiment of dragoons. The face of things was immediately changed; all France became a Catholic country, and not a Protestant was to be seen in it. In the time of Louis XIV. and XV. the Protestants again began to rear up their heads; and of so novel a description were they, that the term of "*les nouveaux convertis*" was applied to them. Proceeding in his statement of the grievances under which the Protestants laboured, the Honourable Gentleman mentioned that it had been stated as an instance of comparative lenity by one writer, that from the year 1745 to 1770 only eight of their Ministers were hanged. In all this period their marriages were declared null, their children of 14 years old, who professed the Catholic religion, were taken from the care of their parents: instances might be mentioned of husbands being sent to the galley for marrying according to the Protestant forms, and their wives to a receptacle of prostitutes. Such by law was the condition of the Protestants in France—ameliorated, no doubt, by the increasing toleration of the age. Louis XVI. had the distinguished merit of remedying many of those grievances from the earliest years of his reign. There were extant memorials presented to him by the lamented M. Malesherbe, and others, on this subject; and their remaining grievances would, doubtless, have been removed by that unfortunate sovereign, had not his throne been overthrown by the torrent of the revolution, amidst his wishes to establish a constitutional liberty. One of the first acts of the revolution was to restore the Protestants to a perfect equality of privileges. They were declared admissible to all civil offices without distinction; and one of their Ministers, Rabaut St. Etienne, was president of the national assembly. The Protestants, with the feelings natural to

men, could not but applaud and admire a work by which they were raised, from being outcasts in society, and from a state of degradation and infamy, to that of citizens with equal rights. This, however, had been objected to them by some persons as matter of reproach; but he trusted he should be able to show, to the satisfaction of the House, that all that had been said of their being revolutionists and Bonapartists in a peculiar degree was perverted and misrepresented. He would assert, that in those scenes of horror which soon disgraced the progress of the revolution, not one Protestant was found to be an actor. Of course he must here be supposed to speak generally, as far as his information extended. He acknowledged, indeed, that some of them who were members of the convention voted for the death of the king, but all of them with the addition of the appeal to the people, which, if not displaying due firmness, at least discovered their wish to save the monarch. There was not one Protestant a member of the revolutionary tribunal of the department of the Gard; and of the 130 persons who were guillotined by its orders at Nismes, more than 100 were Protestants, though the Protestants formed only about one third of the population. He might say, that amidst the horrors of the revolution they were always found on the side of moderation and justice. He did not speak this invidiously, but, as was usual in a sect which formed the minority, many of whom were opulent, greater regularity of conduct and correctness of morals were generally found to prevail. The Protestants being thus restored to the rank of citizens, all religious animosities seemed to subside in the south of France. In 1802, Bonaparte, being then First Consul, procured the enactment of a law which placed their religion precisely on the same footing with the Catholic faith in point of establishment and privilege. Could it be matter of reproach to them that they were grateful for this favour?—it was not possible but that they must have felt attachment to him for it. Hence, however, it was deemed proper by some that they should be stigmatized as Bonapartists. There was no foundation for the assertion that any partiality was shown to them by Bonaparte. There was not one Protestant prefect or commandant of department appointed by him; none of them

filled the tribunals of justice; and probably one reason of this might be, that before the revolution they were not allowed to follow the profession of the law. It was not improbable, however that the circumstance of the Protestants being thus placed on a level with their former masters might excite a rankling jealousy in the latter, which would break out on the first convenient opportunity. This state of things continued until Louis XVIII. was restored to his kingdom in April 1814. At this period Bonaparte had become odious to the Protestants at Nismes, both from the weight of taxation with which they were loaded, and from the incessant demands of the conscription. The taxes fell with peculiar hardship on the Protestants, as, generally speaking, there was more property in their hands; and leading, as they generally did, retired domestic lives, the conscription, which tore from them their children, was peculiarly felt by them as a hardship of the greatest severity. He believed that the Protestants were, under these circumstances, unanimous in the joy which they expressed on the restoration of Louis XVIII. Unfortunately, however, during the course of the preceding ten months, a considerable change of opinion took place. Persons who had been long absent returned with their old prejudices, and the lower orders of the people began to threaten the Protestants, who conceived on their part that there was a strong tendency to go back to the old regime. They were not much alarmed by the circumstance of the charter issued by Louis, declaring the Catholic the established religion of France, because the other guards which it afforded appeared sufficient to protect their rights: they could not forget also that the King had just returned from a residence in a land of Protestants, where he must have witnessed the effects of religious toleration; and they looked forward to a season of tranquillity and enjoyment. But circum-

stances soon compelled them to change their ideas. They were insulted by the populace on the ground of their religion; songs were sung publicly in the streets of Nismes, in which they were threatened with the renewal of the horrors of St. Bartholomew; gibbets were drawn on their doors. In this situation of things, Bonaparte suddenly made his appearance in France in the month of March 1815. It was a trying occurrence for the Protestants at Nismes: but uniting with the established authorities, they declared their determination to support the government. He had in his possession the original declaration to this effect made at Nismes on the 13th of March last year, and which was signed by the principal Protestants, the five Catholic clergy, and three Protestant Ministers of the town. The list of Protestants who signed it was greater in proportion to their respective numbers than that of the Catholics. It contained an expression of the warmest attachment to the government of the King, and called upon the people of the department for their support. Soon after this the Duke d'Angouleme fixed his head-quarters at Nismes, and here it was alledged that the Protestants did not join the Duke with much alacrity. They were in truth deterred from so acting by the previous alarm which had been excited among them, and perhaps it was not surprising that they did not zealously join the Duke's army. Some of them, however, offered their sons to join him. On the 3d of April the authority of Bonaparte was declared in the town of Nismes: the few soldiers in the garrison there were called out, and shouted *Vive l'Empereur*. It had been represented, that during the second reign of Bonaparte, acts of the greatest violence were committed by the Protestants; and that when Nismes again became a royal town on the 17th of July, the atrocities which ensued were merely retaliative.

(To be Continued.)